191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
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144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first, is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
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[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
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648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] [233] [859] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] [196] [651] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] [671] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] [171] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

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[114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

[144] But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

[622] 140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only
[184] among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal
[648] office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[1]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[2] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[3]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[4] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[1] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[2] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[3] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[4] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.